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## The other invisible hand: Jews and anarchists in London before the First World War

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**Abstract** In the decades before the First World War, London worried about anarchist outrages, and particularly, about Jews said to instigate them. Jewish anarchists were rumoured to have been responsible for the 'ripper' murders in Whitechapel (1888), an attempt to blow up the Royal Observatory at Greenwich Park (1894) and the Houndsditch murders (1910)/Sidney Street affair (1911). Jews were a visible population in the East End, and editors, MPs, and police authorities offered Jewishness to explain the 'who' and 'why' of anarchist violence. Jews were also thought to have the capacity to become invisible, 'outsiders' who could pass for 'insiders'. In the radical press, and fictionalised accounts in novels such as Conrad's *The Secret Agent*, the image of the Jewish anarchist became that of agent provocateur paid by police to infiltrate and undermine the movement. Jews were said to operate behind-the-scenes, manipulating the economy and political structure. The invisible hand of the market and the invisible hand of anarchism were attached to a Jewish body.

By 1915, the image of the Jewish anarchist was so evocative in Britain that John Buchan used it to introduce the protagonist in what would become his most successful novel, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*. Scudder tells Hannay about a conspiracy of 'Jew-anarchists' working behind-the-scenes to snooker Russia into declaring war on Germany. Hannay confesses to accepting the tale: 'It ran desperately true . . . I believed it absolutely'. Jews in their real historical situation are absent from Buchan's work, despite his proximity to them; as a young man in 1888, he had moved with his family to the Gorbals in Glasgow. Located on the south side of the river Clyde, the Gorbals housed Scotland's largest Jewish population. But Buchan did not model his characters on Jews he would likely have seen there—peddlers and hawkers, those working in the tailoring, tobacco or furniture trades. Rather, his Jewish characters manipulate the market, smuggle diamonds, and instigate political intrigues.<sup>1</sup> In

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**About the author:** Paul Knepper (Ph.D. Arizona State) is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield, and Research Fellow, Centre for Jewish Studies, University of Manchester. Recent publications include "Jewish Trafficking" and London Jews in the Age of Migration', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* (2008); 'British Jews and the Racialisation of Crime in the Age of Empire' *British Journal of Criminology* (2007); 'Michael Polanyi and Jewish Identity' *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (2005); 'Polanyi, "Jewish Problems", and Zionism' *Tradition and Discovery* (2005).

making use of such characters, he drew on representations of Jewish criminality that had been built up in the British imagination for several decades.

Beginning with the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, British newspapers reported anarchist outrages in Paris, Rome, Barcelona and other cities. Although London had been relatively quiet, editors, MPs, and police authorities worried about 'foreign' anarchists and Jews in particular. Jewish immigrants to London were thought to fill most of the seats at anarchist gatherings and supply the minds behind bomb plots and political murders. Jewish anarchists were said to have instigated the 'ripper' murders and the Hounds-ditch/Sidney Street affair, and to have attempted to blow up the Greenwich Observatory. While Jews were involved in some forms of organised criminal activity<sup>2</sup> and Jewish immigrants did join anarchist groups, the image of anarchists in Britain before the First World War was shaped by a racialised conception linking anarchism with Jewishness and criminality. The image of the anarchist Jew was fused with that of the capitalist Jew, an invisible race of capitalists. Just as Jews were said to maintain hidden control over the market, they were said to manipulate events in the anarchist cause.

The study of Jews and anarchism contributes to the emerging history of 'Jewish criminality'.<sup>3</sup> Despite several important studies, Jews and crime remains an under-researched topic. In part, this has been the case, as Michael Berkowitz explains, because of association of this theme with Hitler's Germany and concern about the anti-Jewish purposes to which such research might be put. But research into criminal activity among Jews, and Jewish reactions to it, provides for an enlarged and more complex understanding of Jewish identity.<sup>4</sup> In exploring the response to 'Jewish criminality' by the larger British society, historical criminology can yield significant insight into the depth and range of anti-Semitism.<sup>5</sup>

### **Jewishness, criminality and capitalism**

Between 1880 and 1914, some 2.4 million Jews left the Pale of Settlement along Russia's western frontier, driven by pogroms, repressive regulations, political upheavals, and degrading poverty.<sup>6</sup> Most were heading to *die goldene medine*, 'the golden land' of America, but tens of thousands settled in Great Britain, as they did in Holland, Austria, and France. Immigrant Jews became a conspicuous minority in British cities—Manchester, Leeds, and Glasgow—and especially London. By 1890, some 30,000 Jews had congregated in the East End, in an area of about two square miles across the districts of Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, and Mile End Old Town.<sup>7</sup> Visitors commented on the sound of Yiddish in the streets and the sight of Hebrew

lettering on shop windows. As a proportion of the British population, the immigrant Jewish population remained quite small. But the 'aliens question' became a significant political and social issue.

The visibility of new arrivals afforded an opportunity to question the impact of Jewishness on British society. In 1887, Howard Vincent MP organised a public meeting to petition the government for exclusion of Jewish immigrants. Vincent was a man of manifold ambition. Before winning a seat in the House of Commons representing Central Sheffield, he had been a colonel in the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, a war correspondent with the *Daily Telegraph*, and the (first) director of the Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D.) at Scotland Yard. He also maintained a long-term preoccupation with Jews. As far as he was concerned, Jews had foisted the 'sweating system' onto British labour, created a housing shortage in cities from London to Leeds, and introduced an influenza epidemic (in Sheffield) in 1891.<sup>8</sup> Immigration restriction was an audacious proposal given the liberal outlook of the Victorians included free immigration and the right to political asylum.<sup>9</sup> But Vincent and his allies continued their campaign and succeeded in bringing about the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration (1902–1903) as well as the Aliens Act (1905).<sup>10</sup>

One of those allies was journalist Arnold White. He developed the 'alien menace' theme in his book *The Modern Jew* (1899), linking Jewish immigrants from Russia and Poland with criminality, poverty, and anarchism. White criticised the government for not preventing the settlement of 'Asiatic' Jews in Britain. 'In other countries,' he wrote, 'the diseased, the anarchist, the criminal, and the pauper are not admitted'.<sup>11</sup> White denounced Jewish influence in British society before parliamentary committees and rallies of the British Brothers League (the first quasi-fascist organisation in Britain), and prefaced his allegations with the claim that the government would have paid greater attention to issues of Jewish criminality were it not for Jewish control of finance and the press.<sup>12</sup>

The alienness of Jews in the East End raised the threat of novel and excessive criminality, particularly after the 'ripper' murders in 1888. For three months, a murderer the press called 'Jack the Ripper' perpetrated a series of gruesome killings. The killings occurred in the area of Whitechapel, leading to speculation about a Jewish perpetrator. Robert Anderson made clear his suspicion that 'he and his people were low-class Jews'. Anderson became director of the C.I.D. at Scotland Yard in 1888 and served in this capacity until his retirement in 1901. He had read law at Trinity College, Dublin, and worked as law officer at Dublin Castle before he joined the Home Office in 1868 as an advisor on matters related to political crime. Anderson was convinced the murderer lived in the immediate area, was known to other people, people that would not surrender him to a police search: 'for it is a remarkable

fact that people of that class in the East End will not give up one of their number to Gentile justice'.<sup>13</sup> In September, crowds gathered in the streets, saying that it must have been done by a Jew, because no Englishman could have committed such crimes.<sup>14</sup>

Rumours of 'Jacob the Ripper' persisted. One alleged the murders had been carried out as part of a ritual practised by Jews in Eastern Europe. The killing of one of the women was said to resemble a crime committed in Galicia, near Cracow, in which a Jew had gone on trial for the murder and mutilation of a Christian woman.<sup>15</sup> Hermann Adler, Britain's Chief Rabbi, despatched letters to leading newspapers in the hope of quashing the accusation. No Jewish book referenced the idea of ritual slaying of a Christian, nor was a single conviction for such a crime in evidence in any other country.<sup>16</sup> Another rumour proposed the mutilation of the bodies had been carried out by someone with the skills of a kosher butcher, giving plausibility to the search for a Jewish culprit. To refute this allegation, the knives used by the Jewish slaughterhouse were sent to the City Divisional Surgeon, to whom detectives had sent the bodies. Having inspected the instruments, the surgeon was satisfied that none had been used in the slayings.<sup>17</sup> Yet another rumour proposed a Jewish anarchist. In October of 1888, a victim was found in Berner Street, leading to speculation that the 'ripper' had some connexion to the Jewish socialist club there. The body had been discovered in a yard, adjacent to the International Workers Educational Club, by Louis Diemischütz, the club's steward. He acknowledged the club was socialist, but insisted membership was open to persons of any nationality.<sup>18</sup>

It was not only the visibility of Jews in the East End that led to perception of a problem. It was, at the same time, a matter of the invisibility of Jews in British society; Jews became racialised *because* they were difficult to distinguish from English people.<sup>19</sup> While political and journalistic voices pressed for action on sweated workshops and appalling living conditions in the East End, other commentators insisted the visible Jewish population was not the deepest threat to British society. Not the impoverished pauper Jew, nor even the criminalised Jew in the Jacob the Ripper sense. Rather, the chief complaint had to do with the impact of 'Jewishness' on the economy.

Oxford-educated social critic John Hobson described the Jew as a 'terrible economic competitor' and 'the "fittest" person to survive in trade competition'. Jews learned 'dishonourable tricks of the trade' by means of a 'superior calculating intellect' enabling them to profit from 'every weaknesses, folly and vice of the society in which [they] live'.<sup>20</sup> In 1899, the *Manchester Guardian* sent Hobson to South Africa to report on the war against the Boers and he convinced himself Jews were responsible. He argued that the resources of the region had become concentrated within 'a small group of international financiers, chiefly of German origin and Jewish in race'. The Jewish

role in the war remained hidden, however, because of Jewish influence over the press as well as the Cabinet.<sup>21</sup> H.M. Hyndman made similar arguments. A newspaperman from a wealthy family, Hyndman founded Britain's first socialist party, the Social Democratic Foundation (S.D.F.), in 1881. He used the S.D.F.'s weekly publication to denounce 'the rings of Jew moneylenders who now control every Foreign Office in Europe. A more contemptible gang never held influence and an organised attack on them would be perfectly justifiable. But as Socialists we have no race prejudices whatever . . .'.<sup>22</sup> Like Hobson, Hyndman theorised about an international Jewish conspiracy behind the British press and the war in South Africa. Jewish ownership of London newspapers was a serious matter because 'they act in accord with their fellow capitalist Jews all over the world'.<sup>23</sup> In denouncing 'imperialist Judaism in Africa', he claimed the Boer War represented a project to extend the 'Anglo-Hebraic Empire'.<sup>24</sup>

The fact that there were millions of poor Jews and only a few with great wealth might have been taken as a refutation of claims about the superiority of Jewish capitalists. But to those inclined to find Jewish interests behind social and historical problems, the fact that not all Jews were rich confirmed the theory. The defective Jewish character explained the squalor of immigrants and the affluence of Anglo-Jewry.<sup>25</sup> The leading racial characteristic, it was said, was invisible to the eye. What made a Jew a capitalist, a criminal, and an anarchist, was not on the outside, but on the inside.

Beatrice Potter, who would later lead the Fabian Society along with her husband Sidney Webb, offered this curious logic in her analysis of the East End economy. Unlike their English counterparts in the needle trades, Jewish men quickly became 'small masters' by employing unskilled labour beginning with their wives and daughters. The prevalence of these small masters was explained by 'the strongest compelling motive of the Jewish race—the love of *profit* as distinct from other forms of money-earning'.<sup>26</sup> The desire for profit, the Jew's greatest virtue, allowed the immigrant population to avoid problems related to alcohol and prostitution. The women remained chaste, the men avoided drunkenness, and men and women sacrificed personal comforts to assure the welfare of their children. But, as she explained further, Jewish morality could not be extracted from Jewish criminality. What made the recent arrivals so efficient at coat-making determined their one weakness: gambling. The 'disorderly houses' operated by Jews revealed the 'vice characteristic of the profit-seeker'. The capitalism of the Fleet Street bankers and the criminality of the Mile End tailors both originated in the Jewish passion for the 'successful deal'. As she put it: 'It is this dominant race impulse that has peopled our Stock Exchange with Israelites; it is the same instinct that has made the Rothschilds' the leaders of European finance and the bankers of emperors and kings'.<sup>27</sup>

### Anarchists and Jews in London

In the 1890s, British newspapers were full of stories of anarchist leaders and their activities. Eleven dynamite explosions occurred in Paris before President Carnot was stabbed to death in 1894. In 1897, assassins killed the Spanish Prime Minister Cánovas, followed by Empress Elizabeth of Austria in 1898, King Humbert of Italy in 1900 and American President McKinley in 1901. Novelist Henry James, who was living in London at the time, set out to capture the mood in *The Princess Casamassima* (1886). It is the narrative of a young bookbinder, caught between his affection for an Italian princess and his belief in the anarchist underground. The characters appeared to him, James said, during evening walks throughout the city, imagining mysteries behind the people he saw.<sup>28</sup> And what he thought he saw was a city of tensions, signs that Great Britain was on the brink of revolutionary change: intensifying poverty, the decline of traditional industries, a shortage of housing, and the rise of socialism.

England produced its' own anarchists, but they were thought to be better behaved than their ideological cousins on the continent and in the Americas. The city was never the address of an anarchist movement, but a round-about of individuals and groups with sundry motivations and ideologies. Café intellectuals, trade unionists, political organisers and self-proclaimed bohemians gave lectures, distributed leaflets, and peddled newspapers; these included Charles Mowbray, Fred Charles, Edith Lupton, John Turner, and David Nicoll. The English anarchists convened at the Autonomie Club in Tottenham Court Road, a 'dingy, badly furnished, ramshackle place', and several smaller neighbourhood clubs.<sup>29</sup> 'There are very few English anarchists and they are of little account' said *The Times*.<sup>30</sup> But the 'foreign anarchists' were another thing.<sup>31</sup>

Berner Street became the centre of Jewish anarchism in London.<sup>32</sup> Opened in 1885 by Morris Winchevsky to spread 'true socialism' among Jewish workers, it was officially known as the International Workers' Educational Club. The club housed the Society of Jewish Socialists and the *Arbeter Faint*, 'Worker's Friend', newspaper. It was a two-storey wooden building with a 200-seat theatre, along a passageway off Commercial Road. Berner Street staged Yiddish theatricals and Russian dramas; communists and socialists sought converts there and trade unionists lectured to cabinet-makers. The club was also a venue for cosmopolitan intellectuals such as William Morris and Prince Kropotkin.<sup>33</sup> S. Yanovsky, who edited the *Arbeter Faint* beginning in 1891, made it the voice of anarchism.<sup>34</sup>

Recent Jewish arrivals in London were attracted to anarchism for more than one reason. Some of those at Berner Street may have had knowledge of anarchist movements in Russia. Many of those in the East End had emigrated from areas—Jewish towns along Russia's western and southwestern

frontier—known to have been sites of anarchist movements.<sup>35</sup> But Jewish involvement in anarchism is better explained by broad changes and social upheaval rather than a specific motivation or agenda. Anarchism represented one possibility for making sense of the widespread changes in Jewish life during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, along with trade unionism, socialism, secularism, and Zionism.<sup>36</sup> And for some, the decision would have been pragmatic as much as existential; anarchism presented an opportunity to improve one's circumstances as much as an ideological commitment. Schools established by anarchists were one of the few secular alternatives to religious education for East End Jews; anarchist teaching offered a 'modern' alternative to traditional instruction provided by rabbis.<sup>37</sup>

The London press tended to see the activities of Jewish anarchists through the lens of alleged racial characteristics. The *Evening Standard* reported on 'the haunts of the East End anarchist' in 1894, underlining the threat of hidden Jews. The meeting place of the 'Russo-Jewish anarchists' had been Berner Street, but it relocated to 'a more obscure corner' supposedly to avoid police surveillance. It was accessible only through an archway in Charlotte Street, off Commercial Road, which led to a small warehouse pasted with bills reading *Arbeter Faint*. To find the actual meeting place, one had to travel through another passageway, leading to 'one of the darkest and most forbidding alleys'. There, one could spot the anarchists, 'all Jews and Jewesses', but different from the 'ordinary stock types' elsewhere in the East End: 'None of the men are over forty, and only two of them wear beards—the rest moustaches and side-whiskers. They are neatly and quietly dressed, and, were it not for their Jewish features, would pass unnoticed in any ordinary assembly of Englishmen'.<sup>38</sup> Such were the contradictory images of Jewish anarchism. Well-known to police and public, yet strange and mysterious. Headquartered in a hidden building, clearly marked. Peopled with individuals, obviously Jews, but who could pass unnoticed among ordinary Englishmen.

The leading figure of Jewish anarchism, Rudolf Rocker, was not Jewish. He had grown up in the German Social-Democratic Party, was among the founders of the German anarchist movement, and made the acquaintance of Jewish radicals while in exile in Paris. In London, he began meeting with Jewish anarchists in the back room of the Sugar Loaf, a pub on Hanbury Street in Whitechapel. The German Catholic delighted Russian Jews by making the effort to learn Yiddish, and they gathered on wooden benches under gaslight to hear his vision of a new society. He would for two decades edit the *Arbeter Faint*. In 1906, Rocker opened a club in new premises on Jubilee Street, in a building large enough to encompass two lecture halls and a library. The Jubilee Street club offered evening courses in English and other subjects for adult learners, and on Sundays, Rocker himself sponsored tours at the

British Museum. In 1907, at the International Anarchist Congress in Amsterdam, Rocker reported on the status of Jewish anarchist groups in Great Britain. He said that seven provincial and four London groups were active and some 30,000 leaflets had been sold. Jewish trade unions, a total of eleven, regarded 'syndicalism' as a necessary means of emancipation. *Arbeter Fraint*, the best-known of the radical newspapers, had a circulation of 2,500 and had been anarchist for sixteen years.<sup>39</sup>

Although Rocker and the anarchist leaders did not endorse anarchist outrages on the continent, they publicly maintained that society was to be blamed for conditions that provoked such acts. This allowed police authorities, and the press, to define anarchism as a corrosive and volatile presence.<sup>40</sup> William Morris, for instance, made a point of distancing himself and the socialist cause from the anarchists. Anarchist outrages, he told the S.D.F. readership, were not only criminal but mistaken as a matter of political strategy because they provoked disgust and justified repression. Never-the-less, he insisted that as crimes, anarchist outrages should be understood 'simply as a disease—a social disease caused by the evil conditions in society'.<sup>41</sup> Hyndman took an even more radical line. 'To begin with,' he wrote, 'assassination in certain circumstances is not only justifiable but laudable'. He conceded that political assassination did not aid economic development of workers, but endorsed the 'wild justice' of anarchist attacks. 'No doubt all this arises out of the disturbed state of society; these outrages are lava-spouts from the volcano of misery and discontent seething below'.<sup>42</sup>

The public impression of anarchism as a foreign menace was sealed by the Houndsditch murders. In December 1910, three police constables were killed while attempting to thwart a burglary. The police had arrived at a jeweller's shop in Houndsditch, in response to a report of a break-in, and the thieves began shooting with a Mauser automatic pistol. Newspapers printed police descriptions of three suspects, one of whom spoke with a foreign accent, and suspicion turned to the usual suspects: Russian and Polish Jews. Houndsditch bordered Whitechapel, an area harbouring 'some of the worst alien anarchists and criminals who seek our too hospitable shores. And these are men who use the pistol and the knife'.<sup>43</sup> About three weeks after the jewellery-shop murders, the police cornered two of the suspects in Sidney Street, Mile End Road. Again, the men used automatic pistols. A detachment of Foot Guards from the Tower of London was dispatched, along with the Royal Horse Artillery from the barracks at St. John's Wood. Winston Churchill, the Home Secretary, arrived at noon, where he was photographed, looking-on with police authorities. They were on hand to see the house catch fire, and the bodies of two men, 'described as anarchists', recovered from the rubble.<sup>44</sup>

*The Times* developed the theme of essential difference between Jewish and English criminality. The circumstances were similar to a shooting in Tottenham two years earlier in which alien criminals used a pistol to kill a police

constable in front of bystanders. 'Now the British criminal never does a thing like that'. It was suggested that the nature of the shooting indicated the objective was not merely to escape, but murder police: 'A savage delight in taking life is the mark of the modern Continental anarchist criminal. We have our own ruffians, but we do not breed that type here, and we do not want them'.<sup>45</sup> The murders had brought out the problem of Jewish immigration; Russian and Polish Jews comprised the majority of immigrants in St. Georges-in-the-East, near the scene of the murders. The worst among the Yiddish-speakers resided in Grove Street where prostitutes made nightly trips to the West End. The typical Jew was a hard worker and moderate drinker, but at the same time, a 'born gambler'.<sup>46</sup>

Suspicion fell on Jews, whether or not they resided in the East End. As *The Times* explained, anarchism in London was no secret; anarchists met openly. 'The anarchist club is not a centre of danger. It is rather a useful spot in which the men of the movement may be found. The real peril comes from groups that work apart from the centre'. Not only should the provisions of the Aliens Act (1905) be strengthened to precluded immigration of foreign anarchists, Scotland Yard should install a detective familiar with Russian, Hebrew and Yiddish to examine literature.<sup>47</sup> Robert Anderson offered a similar argument. The events at Houndsditch and Sidney Street had made visible the peril of foreign anarchist criminals and exceptional measures were needed in response. Authorising police to take steps to rid Great Britain of the 'these criminals'—the 'Houndsditch and Stepney type'—would enable the country to rid itself of 'many alien criminals of the ordinary type'. Jews had been mistreated in Russia, and Britain had a tradition of tolerance, but no one should pretend that British society benefited 'either socially or economically by an influx of ... the Jewish victims of anti-Semitic pogroms in Russia today'.<sup>48</sup> If it were not for the 'alien leaven in our midst', he said, the volume of crime would be small, as British subjects were essentially peaceful and honest.<sup>49</sup>

Leading Jews attempted to sever the link between Jewishness and anarchist criminality. At a meeting organised by Lewis Myers, a resolution was adopted to protest speculation in the press about Jewish perpetrators. 'Such a statement is unfounded and casts a cruel and unjust slur ... on all those who belong to the Jewish race'.<sup>50</sup> The chief rabbi gave a series of talks defending British Jews. In a sermon at Bournemouth, he explained it was necessary to emphasise the difference between Judaism and anarchism given the impression that the criminals behind Houndsditch and Sidney Street were Jews. Those involved were 'Jews neither by race nor faith' he said. He conceded that anarchism appealed to some Jews, but said this was understandable given the repression they had experienced in the Tsar's Empire.

### The archetypal anarchist

After 1911, 'Jewish anarchist' had become another way of saying 'criminal conspirator'. Rocker recalled how in the aftermath of Houndsditch 'Our club was presented as the meeting place of criminals, where only conspirators and initiates found admission, by secret signs and passwords'.<sup>51</sup> Several of the suspects had frequented Jubilee Street and one of them had copies of *Arbeter Fraint* in her room when she was arrested. But the image of the Jewish anarchist was in place before these events. The Jewish anarchist, embodying the anarchist threat, can be seen in the Greenwich Park incident. The archetypal anarchist, the 'originator of all the schemes', was a Jew.

The Greenwich mystery remains a mystery, although Joseph Conrad's *The Secret Agent* (1907) has become the common interpretation. The book is a fictionalised account of the motivations surrounding an explosion at Greenwich Park in February 1894. According to *The Times*, the park-keeper heard a blast near the Royal Observatory and went to investigate. He found a well-dressed, horribly-mutilated man at the scene; the man was about thirty years of age and asked to be taken home. For the explanation, *The Times* deferred to the Central News Agency, which had reported Scotland Yard's claim to having uncovered an anarchist conspiracy. The man in the park had come from a house in Tottenham Court Road, a meeting place for anarchists, English and foreign, that had been under police surveillance. The police guessed the man had stumbled while carrying his 'infernal machine'; the Royal Observatory, a government building, had been the target.<sup>52</sup>

On the following day, *The Times* said the man, who had died in hospital, had been identified as Martial Bourdin, an anarchist linked to the Tottenham Court Road set. He was an out-of-work tailor, originally from France, but who had lived in America before appearing at the Autonomie Club. The police raided the club as Bourdin had ties to the French anarchist Émile Henry, who had three days earlier, tossed a bomb into a café killing one person and injuring twenty others. The police said they had learned of the plot to blow up the observatory from spies at the Autonomie Club and had been shadowing Bourdin. Rival explanations circulated. Bourdin's brother, Henri, told the press that so far as he knew, his brother was uninterested in political philosophy; Martial's association with anarchists in London came as a surprise.<sup>53</sup> Within anarchist circles, it was widely believed the entire affair had been concocted by the police. The bomb had been planted in Bourdin's rooms by an *agent provocateur*, and Bourdin, fearing arrest, had gone to the park to dispose of it when it detonated accidentally.<sup>54</sup>

Out of the ambiguity surrounding the perpetrator and motive emerged the figure of a Jewish anarchist. The *Morning Leader's* coverage of the mystery included an interview with Martial Bourdin's brother-in-law, H. Samuels.

He stated that he had met Bourdin in the West End earlier that Thursday; they had conversed for some time before Samuels returned to his workshop. Samuels doubted that Bourdin had explosives on his person. Bourdin may have wanted to experiment with dynamite but Samuels did not believe Bourdin had intended to vandalise the Royal Observatory. When asked why Bourdin had been found with £13 in gold, Samuels surmised that he had gone to Greenwich Park to meet someone from whom to purchase expertise.<sup>55</sup>

Although the particulars of his life remain sketchy, Henry Benjamin, or 'Harry' Samuels, was born in Hull and entered the tailoring trade. From auto-biographical references in various writings (and his habitual use of American spellings), he appears to have been educated in the United States. His marriage to the sister of Martial Bourdin may also have occurred in America. He returned to England sometime after 1885 when he began making speeches along with English anarchists Turner, Cantwell, and Mowbray.<sup>56</sup> In 1888, he was active in Morris's Socialist League; he became a member of the Socialist League Council in 1889 and attended the International Socialist Congress in Paris. He went to Leeds to organise Jewish workers in the clothing trades and participated in the Leeds gas strike of 1890. In 1893, he became editor of *Commonweal*, a journal founded by Morris. Two years later, Samuels joined the Kilburn branch of the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) and became a delegate at the Newcastle conference.<sup>57</sup>

Samuels became the 'arch offender'<sup>58</sup> of the London anarchists. To be sure, he engaged in incendiary rhetoric. Although Samuels did not throw bombs, he did applaud bomb-throwing in the abstract. In his first issue of *Commonweal*, he wrote a statement to 'fellow workers' and 'revolutionary anarchist-communists'. He denounced political organisation; workers were being misled by political action resulting in greater authority for individual leaders. The situation called for 'all possible means' of securing change. 'In a struggle like this, we hold that all means, however desperate, are justifiable. Individual and collective action alike are necessary and urgent'.<sup>59</sup> Samuels also found it easy to lose friends and annoy people; he engaged in public arguments with former editors of *Commonweal*, both William Morris and David Nicoll.

Nicoll accused Samuels of being an *agent provocateur*, paid by the police to discredit the movement. He recalled seeing Samuels for the first time in 1886 at a meeting of the S.D.F. convened by Hyndman. 'At the end of [Hyndman's] speech, a pale young man with a dark moustache, and features of the Jewish type rose, and put several questions to the lecturer ....'<sup>60</sup> The questions had to do with paralysing London by dynamiting the city's reservoirs. Nicoll claimed that Samuels was a spy, scheming to provoke anarchists into acts that would lead to arrest and imprisonment of the leadership. Specifically, Nicoll claimed Samuels was working for Lord Salisbury, who had introduced a bill in Parliament in 1894 to tackle foreign radicals taking refuge

in Britain and, Nicoll argued, was keen to make political capital from every bomb blast and pistol shot.<sup>61</sup>

It was an accusation that would be repeated about other Jewish radicals. Hyndman's *Justice* suggested that the Houndsditch/Sidney Street affair was a conspiracy engineered by the international police and their agents, intended to end the right to political asylum in Britain.<sup>62</sup> In every anarchist group, there is an *agent provocateur*, and when the police make arrests, this individual is allowed to escape as at Houndsditch. How convenient it was that, despite the 'ridiculous display of force,' the tenement building at Sidney Street was allowed to burn to the ground so the secret motive would be hidden with the dead. The editor went on to claim that the international police had inserted their operatives into American anarchist organisations as well. 'It is not generally known that Emma Goldman is in the pay of police ... at one time, she was employed by Mr A.E. Olarovsky of the Russian Secret Police in San Francisco as an agent and a spy'.<sup>63</sup> Jews, it would seem, performed the same role in anti-capitalism they did in capitalism: conspiring, subverting, deceiving.<sup>64</sup>

Samuels also found his way into fiction where he became the archetype of the Jewish subversive. In *A Girl Among the Anarchists* (1903), written by Olive and Helen Rossetti, Samuels became Jacob Myers. Olive and Helen, the daughters of William Michael Rossetti, knew anarchists from Italy through their father and spent some time among London anarchists. The girl of the title describes the anarchist underworld as peopled by labourers, an artist of 'Social democrat type', a labour agitator, a few gentlemen, and 'one or two fishy and nondescript characters of the Hebraic race'.<sup>65</sup> This 'fishy' aspect of the anarchist movement was personified by the figure of Myers, described as 'a mean enough type of the East End sartorial Jew. His physiognomy was not that of a fool, but indicated rather that low order of intelligence, cunning and intriguing, which goes to make a good swindler. The low forehead, wide-awake, shifty little eyes, the nose of his forefathers ....'.<sup>66</sup> The authors go on to explain that Myers had undue influence over his brother Augustin and repeat the rumour that he had 'egged on his unfortunate brother to his doom in order that he might turn a little money out of the transaction between newspaper reports and police fees'.<sup>67</sup> Jacob the Anarchist, Jacob the Ripper; two of the known identities of Jacob the hidden Jew.

In *The Secret Agent*, Samuels becomes Adolf Verloc, a loathsome evildoer who brings ruin on those around him. He pretends to be an anarchist while taking money from the Russian Secret Service, and when his handlers demand action, he tricks his devoted wife's younger brother, Stevie, into participating in his bomb plot. Conrad's description of Verloc at the beginning of the novel embodies the racialised image of Jewish criminality supplied by Hobson and Potter. There was nothing about Verloc's outward appearance

that exposed his diabolic interior; while out walking, he could have been taken for anything, a picture-frame maker or a locksmith, 'an employer of labour in a small way'. But there was also about him an 'an indescribable air ... the air common to men who live on the vices, the follies, and the baser fears of mankind.' It was 'the air of moral nihilism common to keepers of gambling hells and disorderly houses,' the air common to 'private detectives and inquiry agents'.<sup>68</sup>

### The anti-anarchists

Two groups worried most about anarchists: those preoccupied with the impact of Jews on British society and Jews preoccupied with what British society thought of them. The 'anti-anarchists' urged police surveillance and immigration restriction to counter-act the danger of Jewish anarchists.

There were reports of Jewish anarchism abroad,<sup>69</sup> but the police spies employed to watch foreign anarchists in London came about as an extension of the organisation established to monitor extreme Irish nationalists. The London Metropolitan Police organised in 1878 the Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D.) to be directed by Howard Vincent. Following a bombing at Salford military barracks in 1881, Vincent was instructed to devote himself to 'the Anglo-Irish business'.<sup>70</sup> With the addition of two new inspectors, two sergeants and eight police constables, he formed an Irish Brigade within the C.I.D., and it was out of this group that an anti-anarchist surveillance network was organised. Inspector Patrick McIntyre, a founding member of the Irish Bureau, was among those assigned to watch the anarchists. Inspectors William Melville and Patrick McIntyre became so well-known at anarchist gatherings that they only bothered to disguise their appearance for Sunday evening lectures.<sup>71</sup>

Vincent saw in the blast at Greenwich Park a moment to advance the cause of immigration restriction. On 19 February 1894, he put a question to the Secretary of State for the Home Department about whether the secretary was aware that 'considerable numbers of dangerous characters' had been sent to England from France and elsewhere. Considering the 'circumstances of the day', Vincent said, would the government propose placing any limit on foreign immigration, to avoid entry of 'the refuse population of Europe'? The Secretary, Herbert Asquith, answered that although 'dangerous and objectionable characters' did find their way to England, the government was inclined to pursue cooperation with other countries in information-sharing rather than making a change in the law.<sup>72</sup> Throughout Vincent's political life, he believed the anarchist threat coincided with the alien threat. Despite

the British tradition of offering political asylum, he believed the government should not expose itself to ' harbouring the authors of murder plots'.<sup>73</sup>

When Vincent testified before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration (1902–1903), he repeated what he had been saying for nearly two decades: Parliament should restrict immigration. A recent statement by police authorities about the 'criminal alien invasion' was 'in no way exaggerated'. Vincent not only linked aliens with professional criminality, but sought to make them suspect in other ways as well. He urged the government to protect 'its own people' from the 'unfair competition' of foreigners and from contamination by 'loathsome diseases' from which many of the aliens were afflicted. In Leeds, Vincent believed he had seen the sweating system at work and advised 'cutting off the supply of Russian, Polish and Hungarian Jews'.<sup>74</sup>

In 1898, the Italian government convened in Rome the International Defence Against Anarchism conference. The British government sent Vincent, along with two other representatives, Lord Philip Currie and Sir Godfrey Lushington, each of whom had served as Assistant Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Because the proceedings were meant to be kept secret, *The Times* could offer only a brief summary.<sup>75</sup> There was, however, little to report as nothing was accomplished in the form of new domestic legislation supporting an international agreement. Vincent pressed for an agreement concerning expulsion of suspects by continental governments. Each county, he reasoned, should keep its own bad characters.<sup>76</sup> Robert Anderson took Vincent's view. Britain's policy of giving asylum to political radicals was out-of-step with policies on the continent, a point he had pressed on Currie and Lushington in preparation for the Rome conference.<sup>77</sup>

The British government was not inclined, however, to follow the continent's 'lead' in dealing with anarchists. It was during this period the British press displayed an awareness of the Dreyfus case; *The Times* published its first leading article in November 1897. While leading political figures acknowledged the Dreyfus affair was more than a routine case of spying, they did not see the affair in the context of anti-Jewish prejudice. Rather, they saw it as affirming the superiority of British political institutions and styled their comments as criticism of the French judicial system and French civilisation generally. In October 1898, *The Times* published a long letter from Godfrey Lushington declaring Dreyfus innocent, a victim of a conspiracy within the French military establishment. A government celebrating the superiority of its laws and policies could not find a reason to import surveillance policies developed in other countries.<sup>78</sup> Vincent leaked the news, however, that he had reached an understanding about the importance of information-sharing among police authorities. He organised a 'closed-door' session of sixteen chiefs of police consistent with the idea of establishing a uniform system for

exchanging information about the identities and motivations of known radicals and continued to press for an international moratorium on expulsion of political radicals.<sup>79</sup>

There were members of London's Jewish leadership prepared to believe anarchism was a problem, even those who made public their agreement with Vincent's assertions. N.S. Joseph encouraged Parliament to enact an alien expulsion act. He was secretary of the Russo-Jewish Committee which had been set up in 1882 for relief of Jews facing persecution in Russia. Under Joseph's proposal, the Home Secretary would have the authority to expel several categories of aliens, beginning with 'aliens who are notorious anarchists' or known 'to have been actively engaged in plotting deeds of violence'.<sup>80</sup>

In 1894, Colonel Albert Goldsmid founded the Jewish Lads Brigade to promote Englishness among East End youth tempted by anarchist propaganda. Goldsmid, an anglicised Jew who had been baptised, had graduated from Sandhurst and had achieved his rank serving in the 104th Fusiliers. Modelled on the Church Lads' Brigade, the Jewish Lads' Brigade sought to incorporate Russian and Polish immigrant Jews into British society via a suite of activities ranging from camping to cricket.<sup>81</sup> Goldsmid was particularly proud of his troops during a visit to the Royal Marine barracks in 1901 when the young men displayed military drill before enjoying cakes and lemonade. The officers of the barracks had made a point of commending the lads on their display of discipline and patriotism.<sup>82</sup> In a letter to the *Jewish Chronicle* the following week, Goldsmid addressed the 'burning question' of alien immigration. After reading a 'powerful pamphlet' by Sir Howard Vincent, he declared that 'no unprejudiced Jew' could deny the arguments for restricting immigration. So far, the influx of Jews had not been met with an antisemitic response, and it was up to the Jewish community to ensure that it never did. The Jewish Lads' Brigade was an important institution for converting the foreign element into a source of strength, rather than weakness, for the British Empire.<sup>83</sup>

Such statements were co-opted by anti-alien MPs in the parliamentary debate leading to passage of the Aliens Act (1905). Harold Lawson MP declared that the great number of those appearing in criminal courts belonged to the Jewish community. Britain was receiving the 'black sheep of their own community and of which they themselves are rightly ashamed'. He also pointed to denunciations of Jews in the radical and socialist press. Another member claimed that Jews settled in the East End welcomed the measure for alien restriction because they wished to protect the good living they enjoyed.<sup>84</sup> Other leaders of London's Jewish community recognised the uses to which statements such as Colonel Goldsmid's would be put, particularly his endorsement of Vincent's arguments. Charles Emanuel, solicitor to the Jewish Board of Guardians, wondered whether Goldsmid had bothered

to investigate the matter of Jewish immigration before suggesting that Jews clasp hands with Vincent, 'the leader of the anti-alien agitators'. Emanuel explained that he had on more than one occasion needed to correct inaccurate figures Vincent had supplied to Parliament.<sup>85</sup>

## Conclusions

Anarchism presented a vague and significant threat in the decades before the First World War. Exactly who the bomb-throwers and assassins were was not clear, nor were their motivations. In directing attention to Jews, the anti-anarchists identified the persons to be blamed and a reason for blaming them. The idea of an invisible race of Jews, their character discernable from the visible population in the East End, answered the questions of 'who' and 'why'. And with Jewishness constructed in this way, the problem of the Jews in British society could be used to explain many more problems.

There were Jewish anarchists in London, that is to say, Jews attracted to anarchist clubs. The Jewish clubs comprised a diverse membership of socialists and communists, trade unionists, and intellectuals, comprising a mixture of motivations and ideologies. But the image of Jewish anarchism to emerge was that of criminal conspirators who operated secret networks. Through speculation about incidents such as the Greenwich Park explosion and Houndsditch murders, Jewish anarchists came to be seen as dangerous subversives, criminals disguised as political agitators. The press blamed such outrages on anarchists and the anarchist press blamed them on Jewish agents, secretly paid by the police to undermine their organisations. The image of the Jew as *agent provocateur* fit the alleged racial status of Jews; double-agents who appeared to be working for anti-capitalists while working for capitalists. In novels of the period, the archetypal anarchist was English on the outside but a Jew on the inside. Anarchist Jews did not throw bombs or stab political leaders; they did something worse. In secret coordination with capitalists, they instigated such attacks to implicate others.

Political and popular vocabularies of anarchism coincided with vocabularies of criminality and racialised Jewish identity. The association of Jews with crime was more elastic than has been assumed.<sup>86</sup> Representations of 'Jewish criminality', particularly organised criminal activities, overlapped with anarchism, an amalgam of conjecture, stereotyping, and fabrication. The image of Jewish anarchism or 'anarchist criminality' was of a hidden Jewish menace, of outsiders who could pass as insiders. Jews were visible as new arrivals in East End; they wore kaftans, spoke Yiddish, and traded on Sundays. But as Jews who had entered civil society, who dressed and spoke as ordinary English people, they evoked new prejudices and resentments. Jews were said to

operate behind-the-scenes, manipulating the economy and political structure. The invisible hand of the market, and the invisible hand of anarchism, were attached to a Jewish body.

## Notes

1. Andrew Lownie, *John Buchan: The Presbyterian Cavalier* (London, 2002), 26, 90, 100; Bryan Cheyette, *Constructions of the Jew in English Literature and Society*, (Cambridge, 1993), 56-72.
2. Paul Knepper, “‘Jewish Trafficking’ and London Jews in the Age of Migration”, *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 6 (2007), 239–256; Lloyd Gartner, ‘Anglo-Jewry and the Jewish International Traffic in Prostitution, 1885–1914’ *AJS Review*, 7/8 (1983), 129–178; Edward Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery 1870–1939* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982); Lara Marks, ‘Jewish Women and Jewish Prostitution in the East End of London’, *Jewish Quarterly*, 2, (1987), 6–10.
3. Michael Berkowitz, ‘Unmasking Counter-History: An Introductory Exploration of Criminality and the Jewish Question’ in Peter Becker and Richard Wetzell, eds, *Criminals and Their Scientists* (Cambridge, 2006) 61–84; Daniel Vyleta, ‘Jewish Crimes and Misdemeanours: In Search of Jewish Criminality (Germany and Austria, 1890–1914)’, *European History Quarterly*, 35 (2005), 299–325; Susan Tananbaum, “‘Morally Depraved and Abnormally Criminal’: Jews and Crime in London and New York, 1880–1940” in Michael Berkowitz, Susan Tananbaum, and Sam Bloom, eds, *Forging Modern Jewish Identities: Public Faces and Private Struggles* (London, 2003); Paul Knepper, ‘British Jews and the Racialisation of Crime in the Age of Empire’, *British Journal of Criminology*, 47, (2007), 61–79.
4. Knepper, *ibid*; Mitchell B. Hart, ‘Jews, Race, and Capitalism in the German-Jewish Context’, *Jewish History*, 19, (2005), 50.
5. Berkowitz, *op. cit.*, 64–65.
6. Lloyd Gartner, *History of the Jews in Modern Times* (Oxford, 2001), 258.
7. ‘Report of the Lancet Special Sanitary Commission of the Polish Colony of Jew Tailors,’ *The Lancet* (3 May 1884), 817.
8. S. Jeyes and F.D. How, *The Life of Sir Howard Vincent* (London, 1912).
9. William Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals 1875–1914* (London, 1975), 71.
10. John Garrard, *The English and Immigration: A Comparative Study of the Jewish Influx 1880–1910* (London, 1971); Jill Pellew, ‘The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905’ *The Historical Journal*, 32 (1989) 369–385; Helena Wray, ‘The Aliens Act 1905 and the Immigration Dilemma,’ *Journal of Law and Society*, 33 (2006), 302–323. Jewish immigrants to South Africa experienced a similar political reaction. Milton Shain, ‘Diamonds, Pogroms and Undesirables—Anti-Alienism and Legislation in the Cape Colony, 1890–1906’ *South African Historical Journal* 12 (1980), 13–28.
11. Arnold White, *The Modern Jew* (London, 1899), 180
12. *Ibid.* xv. For an analysis of White’s outlook, see Cecil Bloom, ‘Arnold White and Sir William Evans-Gordon’: Their Involvement in Immigration in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain’, *Jewish Historical Studies*, 39 (2004) 153–166.
13. Robert Anderson, ‘At Scotland Yard’, *Blackwood’s Magazine*, 187 (March 1910), 357–358. Anderson went so far as to claim (in 1910) that he knew ‘the ripper’s’ identity, but could not reveal it as it would have little ‘public benefit’. The man, he said, had

been confined to an asylum, and the only person who had ever had a good view of him, identified him at once, but when the witness learned the suspect was 'a fellow-Jew' he declined to swear to it.

14. Sander Gilman, "'I'm Down on Whores': Race and gender in Victorian London', in David T. Goldberg, ed, *Anatomy of Racism* (London, 1990) 146–170; Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delights: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992) and 'Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence', *Feminist Studies* 8, (1982), 541–574.
15. 'The Whitechapel Murders' *The Times* (2 Oct, 1888), 5.
16. 'The Murders in the East End', *The Times* (2 Oct, 1888), 8.
17. 'Notes of the Week', *Jewish Chronicle*, (12 Oct, 1888), 4.
18. *Ibid.* In Germany, a newspaper journalist suggested that 'Jack' was only a functionary, part of a larger 'international Jewish conspiracy'. Gilman, *op. cit.*, 159.
19. Deborah Cohen, 'Who Was Who? Race and Jews in Turn-of-the-Century Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 41, (2002), 461.
20. J.A. Hobson, *Problems of Poverty* (London, 1891), 60.
21. J.A. Hobson, *The War in South Africa* (London, 1900); 'Capitalism and Imperialism in South Africa' *Contemporary Review*, 77 (1900), 1–17. See also Colin Holmes, 'J.A. Hobson and the Jews' in Colin Holmes, ed, *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society*, (London, 1978); Claire Hirshfield, 'The British Left and the "Jewish Conspiracy": A Case Study of Modern Antisemitism' *Jewish Social Studies*, 43, (1981), 95–112.
22. 'Jews and Jews', *Justice* (5 April 1884), 1.
23. 'The International Jew Press', *Justice* (5 July 1890), 1.
24. 'Imperialist Judaism in Africa', *Justice* (25 April 1896), 1.
25. Marx suggested as much in his essay 'On the Jewish Question' (1844), when he wrote that the secular religion of Jews is huckstering, their secular god, money. He invoked an image of the Yiddish-speaking Jew linked to the 'peddler Jew', living off haggling in public places. See Isaiah Berlin, 'Benjamin Disraeli, Karl Marx and the Search for Identity' in H. Hardy, ed, *Against the Current: Essays in the History of Ideas* (Oxford, 1981), 252–286.
26. Beatrice Potter, 'East London Labour', *Nineteenth Century*, 24 (1888), 176. See also Yosef Gorni, 'Beatrice Webb's Views on Judaism and Zionism' *Jewish Social Studies*, 40, (1978), 95–116.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Henry James, *The Princess Casamassima* (New York, 1908).
29. Peter Latouche, *Anarchy: Its Methods and Exponents* (London, 1908), 62–64.
30. 'Anarchists in London' *The Times*, (4 January 1911), 8.
31. While countries that had provided sanctuary to political exiles, such as France and Switzerland, withdrew from asylum policies as a result of growing fear in the 1890s, Britain continued to grant asylum to religious and political refugees. Peitro di Paola, 'The Spies who Came in from the Heat: The International Surveillance of the Anarchists in London', *European History Quarterly*, 37, (2007), 190.
32. One researcher concludes that between 1880 and 1914, Jewish immigrants to the East End of London 'provided more recruits to anarchism than the rest of the population of Britain' although there is no discussion of the basis for this conclusion. George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Harmondsworth, 1986), 376.
33. Fishman, *op. cit.*, 153–154.
34. Lloyd Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England* (London, 1973), 132.
35. Jose Moya, 'The Positive Side of Stereotypes: Jewish Anarchists in Early Twentieth-Century Buenos Aires', *Jewish History*, 18, (2004), 20.

36. Like the English anarchists, Jewish anarchists in England represented an uncertain amalgamation of intellectuals, socialists and labour organisers. But unlike the English, Jews expressed an interest in 'anarcho-nationalism', a mixture of humanitarian internationalism and Zionism. Yarblum, a Jewish anarchist who crossed-swords intellectually with Kropotkin, maintained that Jews would be liberated only when they achieved a state of their own in Palestine. Jewish nationalism included an element of messianism as well, the mystical belief in a future national redemption. The tendency of recruits to confuse political messages with religious themes explains why anarchist leaders expended so much energy on 'progressive cultural work', most of which consisted of annoying the orthodox. Yanovsky arranged atheistic lectures to coincide with Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur; his followers puffed tobacco and waived ham sandwiches outside synagogues on Shabbat. This put the Berner Street leadership on a collision course with rabbis, and scuffles did occur in London and Leeds between religious and secular Jews. Gartner, *op. cit.*, 135; Mina Grauer, 'Anarcho-Nationalism: Anarchist Attitudes Towards Jewish Nationalism and Zionism' *Modern Judaism*, 14, (1994), 1–19.

37. Matthew Thomas, "'No-one Telling Us What to Do": Anarchist Schools in Britain, 1890–1916' *Historical Research* 77, (2004), 420.

38. 'The Haunts of the East End Anarchist', *Evening Standard* (20 October, 1894). British Library, London.

39. Rudolf Rocker, *The International Anarchist Congress* (London, 1907), 6. Special Collections, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

40. Gartner, *op. cit.*, 137.

41. 'A Socialist Poet on Bombs and Anarchism' *Justice* (27 Jan 1894), 6.

42. 'Assassination, Anarchy and Social Democracy', *Justice* (24 February, 1894), 4.

43. 'The Houndsditch Murders: An Alien Crime', *The Times* (19 December, 1910), 10.

44. 'Fight with Anarchists', *The Times* (4 January, 1911), 8.

45. 'The Police Murders in the City', *The Times* (19 December, 1910), 11.

46. 'The Alien Immigrant', *The Times* (20 December, 1910), 10.

47. 'Anarchists in London' *The Times* (4 January, 1911), 10.

48. Robert Anderson, 'The Problem of the Criminal Alien' *Nineteenth Century* 69, (1911), 218–219.

49. Robert Anderson, 'Sharps and Flats', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 187 (May 1910), 679.

50. 'Week by Week: Criminal Aliens', *Jewish Chronicle* (6 January, 1911), 5–6.

51. Rudolf Rocker, *The London Years* (London, 1956), 207.

52. 'Explosion in Greenwich Park', *The Times* (16 February, 1894), 5.

53. 'The Explosion in Greenwich Park', *The Times* (17 February, 1894), 5.

54. Latouche, *op. cit.*, 132.

55. 'Mr Samuels Interviewed', *Morning Leader* (19 February, 1894). British Library, London.

56. Hermia Oliver, *The International Anarchist Movement in London* (London, 1983), 58–59.

57. John Quail, *The Slow Burning Fuse* (London, 1978), 160. Samuels argued against women's suffrage. It is fantastic to think, he wrote, that women could govern as well as men. This view put him at odds with the ILP, the leaders of which placed less emphasis on class struggle and more on equality of the sexes. He was prohibited from holding office for one year but appears to have regained his status in the party after that. Oliver, *op. cit.*, 160.

58. Oliver, *op. cit.*, 11.

59. 'Our Policy', *Commonweal*, 1 (new series), (1 May 1893), 1. Special Collections, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

60. David Nicoll, *The Greenwich Mystery! A Commonwealth Pamphlet* (Sheffield, 1897), 3. British Library, London.

61. *Ibid.*
62. 'By the Way' *Justice* (14 January, 1911).
63. 'Anarchists' *Justice* (13 May, 1911), 7.
64. The illogic of such accusations, as Sarte pointed out, never stands in the way of antisemitic thought. Capitalist Jews make every effort to ruin the economy in which they are the primary beneficiaries and anarchist Jews make every effort to ruin the political system that grants them asylum. Jean-Paul Sarte, *Anti-Semite and Jew* (New York, 1995), 38.
65. Isabel Merideth, *A Girl Among the Anarchists* (London, 1903), 47.
66. *Ibid.*, 45.
67. *Ibid.*, 50.
68. Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent* (London, 1907), 13.
69. Moya, *op. cit.*, 19–48.
70. Lindsay Clutterbuck, 'Countering Irish Republican Terrorism in Britain: Its Origin as a Police Function', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 18, (2006), 101.
71. Latouche, *op. cit.*, 61.
72. Hansard (1894), Commons Parliamentary Debates, 5 February to 5 March, vol 21, cols 721–722.
73. Jeyes and How, *op. cit.*, 204.
74. *Ibid.*, 204, 341.
75. 'The Anti-Anarchist Conference', *The Times* (19 December, 1898), 6. The conference opened with 'an academic discussion' about the definition of 'political crime'. Essentially, the question had to do with whether bomb-throwing anarchists and assassins were more like common criminals or political revolutionaries. Whether a particular act resembled one or the other depended on the political context; it was impossible to characterise the anarchist's actions without first characterising the political context, whether repressive or democratic. The most widely-known attempt to side-step this question had been offered by the Italian (and Jewish) criminologist Cesare Lombroso who tried to fit anarchists within his typology of criminal degeneracy. But few academics, even in the emerging discipline of criminology, accepted his attempt to locate the origins of anarchism within the body. Neither, it would appear, did the conference participants. They decided to regard anarchist activities as nothing other than ordinary crimes and decided against international agreements (concerning expulsion and extradition of known radicals, for example) in favour of utilising existing national frameworks for prosecution of criminal acts. See Daniel Pick, 'The Faces of Anarchy: Lombroso and the Politics of Criminal Science in Post-Unification Italy', *History Workshop Journal*, 21, (1986), 60–86; Richard Bach Jensen, 'Criminal Anthropology and Anarchist Terrorism in Spain and Italy' *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 16, (2001), 31–44.
76. 'The Anti-Anarchist Conference', *op. cit.* The Queen was pleased. Upon his return home, Vincent learned from Lord Salisbury that he had been given a knighthood for his services at the Rome conference. Jeyes and How, *op. cit.*, 307.
77. Anderson, 'The Problem of the Criminal', *op. cit.*, 219–220.
78. Robert Tombs, "'Lesser Breeds Without the Law': The British Establishment and the Dreyfus Affair, 1894–1899" *The Historical Journal* 41 (1998), 495–510. It was also during this period that Kipling penned his phrase about 'lesser breeds without the Law', meaning nations that indulged in extremism and relied on force without political values.
79. Richard Jensen, 'The International Anti-Anarchist Conference of 1898 and the Origins of Interpol', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 16, (1981), 323–347.
80. *Report of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration*, vol 2 (London, 1903), 554–555.
81. Richard Voeltz, "A Good Jew and an Englishman": The Jewish Lads Brigade, 1894–1922', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 23 (1988), 119–127. Goldsmid's philosophy

was similar to that of Max Nordau who authored one of the most popular books of the 1890s, *Degeneration*. Essentially, Nordau argued that centuries of life in the ghetto had brought about a weakened body and nervous mental state; he promoted exercise and athletics as a means of developing *muskeljuden*, 'muscular Jews', fit in mind and body. Hans Söder, 'Disease and Health as Contexts of Modernity: Max Nordau as a Critic of Fin-de-Siècle Modernism', *German Studies Review*, 14, (1991), 473–487.

82. 'The Jewish Lads Brigade', *Jewish Chronicle* (9 August, 1901), 18.
83. 'The Jewish Lads Brigade and the Alien Immigration Question', *Jewish Chronicle* (23 August, 1901), 6.
84. Hansard, Commons Parliamentary Debates, 13 April to 10 May (1905), vol 145, cols. 734–735, 782–783.
85. 'The Jewish Lads Brigade and the Alien Immigration Question', *Jewish Chronicle* (30 August, 1901), 6.
86. Berkowitz, *op. cit.*, 77.